

Chapter : 13

**WOMAN SCHOLARS OF
ANCIENT MITHILA**

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Mithilā (also known as Videha, Tīrabhukti or tirhut) was the land of scholars, home of litterateurs and prominent seat of Vedic (Brāhmaṇic) and philosophical learning and was resort of a large number of students who flocked there from all parts of India. The age of Janaka coincided with a period of great religious-cum-philosophical and intellectual activities. This tradition was continued. Many ancient learning centres both urban and rural flourished in Mithilā. Ancient Mithilā was the centre of great scholaristic activities. It was famous for ideal educational centres, unique education and peculiar examination system. The glory of Mithilā was at its height, and its fame spread throughout the country. While royal philosophers and brāhmaṇa teachers were busy in philosophical discussion in the age of Janaka Vaideha, women were not slow in this respect. Glimpses of some such women are available in the Vedic literature. Among the authors and scholars to whose memory a daily tribute is paid at the time of brahmayajña, few ladies also are seen to figure; they are Sulabhā, Maitreyī and Gārgī Vācakanvī.¹ These ladies must have made real contributions to the enrichment of scholarship, otherwise their names would not have been recommended for daily remembrance by posterity for all time to come. It is a great pity that we know nothing about lady scholars except their names ; their works have been all lost, probably for ever.

Education of girls was wide - spread in ancient Mithilā. No distinction was made between boys and girls. Down to 3rd century B.C. girls could remain unmarried till the age of sixteen. The period before marriage was utilised for imparting education to them. *Upanayana* or the ceremonial initiation into Vedic studies was as common in the case of girls as it was in the case of boys. The *upanayana* ceremony was followed by a period of discipline and education which was regarded as very essential to secure a suitable match². But the Vedic *mantras* were prohibited³. Later on, Manu converted the *upanayana Samskāra* into marriage⁴. *Samāvartana Samskāra* was also necessary for the girls⁵. The *Atharvaveda* observes that a maiden can succeed in her marriage only if she has been properly trained during the period of studentship (*brahmacharya*)⁶. Women students were divided into two classes, *brahmvādinīs* and *sadyouadhū*. The *brahmvādinīs* were the products of the educational disciple of *brahmacharya* for which women were eligible. Young maiden com-

pleted their education as *brahmachārinīs* and then gained husband in whom "they are merged like rivers in oceans".

The *sadyovadhūs* used to prosecute their studies till thier marriage at the age of 15 or 16. During the eight or nine years that were thus available to them for study, they used to learn by heart the Vedic hymns prescribed for the daily and periodical prayers and for those rituals and sacraments in which they had to take an active part after this marriage. There is ample evidence to show that like men women also used to offer regularly their Vedic prayers both morning and evening. For instance, in more than one place in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Sītā is described as offering her daily Vedic prayers⁷. *Brahmachārinīs* and *brahmainīs* indeed are often mentioned in the Epic-purāṇic and historical traditions and some of them actually were connected with the Mithilā court. What this lady scholar told Sītā's mother was clearly the outstanding traits of Sītā's character as they appeared to her, which in her view marked the girl out for a cloistered career in a forest retreat, or a life in the midst of nature. There is no need of seeing here a more prophecy of future exile into the wildernesses, for no such thing ever occurred, Rāma and Sītā spending their exile comfortably in various *āśramas*. It is an instance of recognition or discovery of a student type in a girl by a lady teacher. Sītā had a lot of instruction from her mother and her relatives, about wifely duties. This home instruction was supplemented by lesson in Śruti, or traditional lore of the purāṇas, about the eternal character of marriage alliances⁸.

Usually, however, ordinary girls who did not go in for higher education were educated in their own families by their father, uncles or brothers or by local lady teachers⁹. The *āśramas* of Mithilā were co-educational in character both in learning and teaching. In the Gautama Āśrama of Mithilā, girls were sent by their parents from distant parts of the country to be educated as resident students for many years¹⁰. Girls were admitted to Vedic school or *carāṇas*¹¹. Kāthī denoted the female student of the Kāthā school. There were also hostels for them, known as *chārī-śālās*¹². Down to 4th century B.C. Vedic and philosophical studies attracted the main attention of society. We, therefore, find ladies also naturally cultivating these subjects with great

devotion and enthusiasm. Besides studying the Vedas, many of them used to specialise in *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, which discussed the diverse problems 'connected with Vedic sacrifices. This science is very dry and difficult or perhaps even more abstruse than mathematics, but still a very large number of ladies used to take deep interest in it. Bhāraṇ was a great scholar of Veda, Vedāṅga, history, mathematics, Dharmasūtra, logic, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and sāhitya. We have some reference to girls going out to swim as well¹³. It is, however, easy to say what percentage of girls knew this very useful art. Girls used to play a number of courtyard games like 'hide and seek' and 'run and catch'¹⁴. Music and dancing formed the principal indoor games. Public and dramatic concerts were often organized and girls used to go out to see them along with their elders or lovers¹⁵. Vātsyāyana has mentioned 64 *angavidyās* for the women¹⁶. Other arts which were recommended to master were painting, gardening, garland-making, toy-making, house-decorations, etc.¹⁷. The cultivation of fine arts like music, dancing and painting was encouraged in the case of girls since very early times. Musical recitation of the Sāma hymns was originally the special function of ladies¹⁸. Many educated women used to follow teaching career either out of love or out of necessity. Sanskrit language found it necessary to coin a special word in order to distinguish them from wives of teachers. The latter, who were not necessarily scholars, were called *upādhyāyāyī*, *Āchāryā*²⁰ etc. Even erring wives could rise to become teachers of the sacred lore and be restored to their pristinetime social position. For instance, Ahalyā, wife of Gautama, was a teachers of the *āśrama* of her husband. Thus, ancient Mithilā was famous for female education also. But in the succeeding ages, however, the marriageable age of a girl was lowered and this adversely affected female education. Following women scholars of ancient Mithilā were famous for their intellectual height and philosophical acumen:-

Vedavatī

Vedavatī was the daughter of Kuśadhvaja and the grand daughter of Brhaspati²¹. Kuśadhvaja had become a Brahmarṣi or Vedic teacher ever engaged in Vedābhyāsa, so he named his daughter Vedavatī, who also grew up to the Vānmayāi, a veritable embodiment Vedic learning as it were the divine or

Logos personified²². Kuśadhvaja wished to make her a bride of Viṣṇu and so he refused all her suitors, one of whom, a chieftain Sumba and, in exasperation murdered him in his bed at night, his noble wife entering his funeral pyre in grief. Vedavatī continued in a life of religious discipline after her late father's desire, as a bride of Viṣṇu, in an *āśrama* close to the Himalayas in the Mithilā territory, clad, in black deer-skins and wearing matted locks, and employed in the manner of ṛṣis i.e., in study and teaching Rāvaṇa came to that *āśrama*, and was in due form hospitably received by Vedavati, she answered all his enquires, but being rather indecently accosted, protested against the victor's gross advances. Rāvaṇa however attempted violence successfully, where upon she mortified herself by cutting off her hair and immolated herself on a pyre, cursing her oppressor²³. It is clear from this, remarkable account that Vedavatī, in accordance with the tradition of learning in her family, was given the highest literary and theological education, and was fittingly a virgin nun dedicated to temple-service, being besides a lady teacher of ṛṣi rank in the convent; and that, nevertheless, she was not cut off from the secular world, and eminent suitors still deemed her a prize worth attempting by fair means or foul. her life and education was not in any way unusual, for, as we shall see presently, the *āśramas* of those time had many well-educated female inmates like her, dedicated to the service of the gods, and engaged in theological studies, philanthropic work or pursuit of the fine arts²⁴. Her *āśrama* was situated near the Himalayas in Mithilā. In this *āśrama*, it would appear from details, girls received, till advanced youth, the highest Vedic education, after which they either chose a husband from amongst many eager suitors, or became lady teachers in their school, or were married to the temple-gods of the *āśrama*, i.e. became dedicated devadāsīs devoted to fine arts; it being still possible for them to revert to secular life as women and mothers, though this was naturally regarded as a sin, to be punished and expiated from the priestly point of view²⁵.

Ahalyā

The Gautama *āśrama* was situated in Mithilā. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Viśvāmitra found the *āśrama* empty, with no resident ṛṣis. Some year previously it was under the ṛṣi Sarad-

vanta Gautama and his wife Ahalyā, who alone was then living in it in retirement, in expiation of her sin of adultery²⁶. Ahalyā suitably received Rāma and his entire distinguished company, and her excommunication apparently ended with this frankly accepted reception²⁷. According to S.C. Sankar, Ahalyā was a coveted maiden, and her many suitors regarded her mentally as their wife. But she was placed by her royal parents as a trust in the charge of Saradvanta Gautama, who after many years sent her back to her parents fully trained or disciplined (from such details it would appear that Ahalyā could not have been less than 12 years of age when sent to the school and must have been sent back at about 24, after a full 12 years Vedic course; this has to be presupposed for she became a theology teacher in the school); the firmness of his character, as also her success in studies or teaching abilities, being thus proved, Ahalyā was bestowed on Savadvanta to be accepted as a wife. As Gautama made the youthful Ahalyā happy in his company, her previous suitors were disappointed. One amongst them was exasperated, and coming boldly into Gautama *āśrama*, espied her like a flame, and blinded by rage and passion forced her to yield herself to him, but was caught within the *āśrama* by Gautama, who cursed him, and soundly scolded Ahalyā for fickleness sprung of beauty: "ruin to thee" he cried and drove her from the *āśrama*; Ahalyā pleaded having been deceived by similar appearance, and soliciting his favour and pardon was assured that she could be reunited with him if she obtained an absolution from Rāma. So she practised penance, became a *brahmavādinī* or a lady scholar and teacher in theology and pleased Rāma by her reception²⁸.

Gārgī Vācaknavī

Gārgī Vācaknavī was the most celebrated philosopher and controversialist among the women of the age of Janaka Videha. She was well-versed in philosophy and learning and was called as *brahmavādinī*. In the philosophical tournament held under the auspices of king Janaka of Mitthilā, the philosophical questions were initiated for discussion by the lady philosopher Gārgī, who had the honour to be the spokesman of the distinguished philosophers at the court. She launched her attack on Yajñavalkya, the newly arrived philosopher, with an admirable

coolness and confidence. 'Just as a experienced archer', says she, 'would get ready to attack his enemy with two piercing arrows kept at hand, so I assail you with two test questions. Answer them if you can'. The topics of her enquiry were so abstruse and esoteric in character, that Yājñavalkya declined to discuss them in public. The searching cross examination of Yājñavalkya by Gārgī shows that she was a dialectician and philosopher of a high order. In the end she admits : "No one, I believe, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman"²⁹.

Maitreyī

Maitreyī was a great philosopher and *brahmavādinī*³⁰. She was the learned wife of Yājñavalkya who "was conversant with Brahman" while his other wife Kātyāyanī possessed such knowledge only as women possess. When Yājñavalkya was about to renounce the life of a house-holder for that of a hermit, Maitreyī insists on his giving her instruction in spiritual wisdom. Yājñavalkya has a discourse on Brahman with Maitreyī on her insistence, after which he bids adieu to the world to spend the last days of his life in contemplation in the solitude of the forest after making a due settlement between the two wives³¹.

Sulabhā

Sulabhā was well-versed in philosophy and learning and was known as *brahmavādinī*. She was the scion of Rājarṣi Pradhāna³².

Mallinātha

Mallinātha, the nineteenth Tīrthāṅkara of the Jaina was a princess of Mithilā, the daughter of Kumbha, the ruler of Mithilā³⁴.

Ambapālī (Āmrāpālī)

Āmrāpālī was a Buddhist scholar of Mithilā. Nineteen verses ascribed to her are found in the *Thirīgāthā*³⁵. Āmrāpālī was supposed to be "the pride of the city"³⁶. It is said that when Āmrāpālī heard of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī, she and her retinue drove to meet him and after hearing a discourse invited him and the monks to a meal the next day. The Buddha accepted this invitation and had, as a result, to refuse that of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. It was after this meal that Āmrāpālī gave over her

park, the Āmbapālīvāna, to the Buddha and the Order. She had already built a *Vihāra* in her own garden which she gave to the Buddha and the Order. The Buddha accepted the gift and stayed, there for sometime before going on the Beluva³⁷.

Āmbapālī had a son Vimala Koṇḍañña, who was an eminent Elder. Having heard him preach one day, she renounced the world and working for insight by studying the Law of Impermanence as illustrated in her own ageing body, she attained Arahatsip³⁸.

Sīhā Therī

Sīhā Therī was another Buddhist scholar. She was born at Vaiśālī at the time of Gautama Buddha. She was called Sīhā after her maternal uncle, Sīha, the Licchavi general. She heard one day the Buddha preaching to Sāriputta and entered the Order with her parent's consent. For seven years she tried, without success, to concentrate her mind. Then she tied a noose round her neck and fastened the end to a tree, and in this position she tried, without success, to concentrate her mind. Then she tied a noose round her neck and fastened the end to a tree, and in this position she calmed her mind to gain insight. Then she loosened the noose. At last she won Arahatsip³⁹.

Vāsiṭṭhī Therī

Vāseṭṭhī Therī was a Buddhist scholar of Mithilā. She was born in a clansman's family at Vaiśālī. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal position. She bore a son. The child died very young, and his mother became mad with grief and met the Buddha. Buddha taught her the Doctrine and had her Ordained at her own request. She soon after became an Arahatsip⁴⁰.

Sujāta Therā having learnt of the Buddha from Vāsiṭṭhī Therī, visited the master at Mithilā and entered the Order under the Buddha, attaining Arahatsip on the third day.⁴⁵

Jayantī

Jayantī or Jentī or Jentā was born in a princely family of the Licchavis at Vaiśālī. She won Arahatsip after hearing the Dhamma preached by the Buddha⁴².

Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā

Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā was the wife of the Licchavi Mahāli.⁴³ She was described by the Buddha as foremost among them who gave excellent alms.⁴⁴ She is included in a list of eminent Upāsikās⁴⁵ and is mentioned⁴⁶ with Anāthapiṇḍika, Culla-Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, as givers of gifts which were gladly accepted by the monks.

Rohini Therī

Rohinī Therī was the daughter of a prosperous Bāhmaṇ of Mithilā. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, she heard him preach and became a Sotāpanna, taught the Doctrine to her parents, and with their permission, entered the Order, where she became an Arahat. The *Threīgāthā*⁴⁷ contains a set of verses spoken by her in exaltation, when, after becoming an Arahat, she recalled to mind the discussion she had had with her father while she was yet a Sotāpanna. It is said⁴⁸ that the last stanza of the series was spoken by her father, who later himself joined the Order and became an Arahat.

Vimalā Therī

She was the daughter of a courtesan of Vaiśālī. Having one day seen Moggallāna begging in Vaiśālī for alms, she went to his dwelling and tried to entice him. The Elder rebuked and admonished her, and she became a lay follower and later entered the Order. Then, after great effort, she became an Arahat⁴⁹.

Therikā

Therikā was also a Buddhist scholar of Mithilā. She was born in a family of Vaiśālī. She married and became a devoted wife, accepting the Buddha's teaching, after hearing him preach at Vaiśālī. Later she heard Prajapati Gautamī and wished to leave the world, but her husband refused his premission. One day, while cooking, she developed the thought of impermanence, and became an Anāgāmī. When her husband realised this, he took her to Prajāpati, who ordained her.⁵⁰

Bhārati

Bhārati was a great *viduṣī* of Mithilā. According to Mādhavāchārya she was the daughter of Viṣṇu Mitra (Miśra ?).

The great philosopher Maṇḍana Miśra was her husband. She was the umpire in the fateful controversy between Śaṅkarāchārya and Maṇḍana Miśra. Bhāratī was a great scholar of the Veda, Vedāṅga, History, Mathematics, Dharmaśāstra, Logic Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Sāhitya.⁵¹

References

1. *Āśvālāyana - Gṛhya - Sūtra*, Edited by A.G. Stenzler, Leipzig, 1864, III. 4.4.
2. *Manu-Smṛti*, with the comm. of Kulluka Bhatta, Bombay, 1946, 2.66.
3. *Ibid.*, 2.56: अमन्त्रिका तु कार्येयं स्त्रीणामा वृद्धशेषतः; 9.18: तथा नास्ति स्त्रीणा क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः ।।
4. *Ibid.*, 2.67: वैवाहिको विधिः स्त्रीणां संस्कारो वैदिकोमतः । पति सेवा गुरौर्वासौ गृहार्थोऽग्नि परिक्रिया ।।
5. *A. G. S.*, 3.8.11.
6. *Atharvaveda*, Edited by Sripal Sharma, Oudh Nagar, 1938, XI.5.18: ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम् ।
7. *Rāmāyana*, Edited by Vasudeva lakshmana Shastri Pansikar, Bombay, 1909, V.15.48: संध्याकालमनाः श्यामा ध्रुवमेष्यति जानकी । नदी चेमां शुभजलं संध्यार्थं बर वर्णिनी ।।
8. S.C. Sarkar, *Educational Idias and Institutions in Ancient India*, Patna, 1979, p. 62.
9. *Vira - Mitrodaya - Saṁskāra - Prakāśa*, p. 402: द्विविधा स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योद्वाहाश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनी नामग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भैक्षं चर्येति ।
10. S.C. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, p. 123.
11. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Madras - 1917, IV.2.46: चरणेभ्यो घर्मवत्; IV. 1.63; R.K.Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, Delhi, 1969, p. 80.
12. *Ibid.*; VI.2.86: छात्रयादयः शालायाम्; *Great Women of India*, pp. 87-106.
13. *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, K.R. Iyengar, lahore, 1921, III. 4.
14. *Ibid.*, III. 3.
15. *Ibid.*, III. 1.
16. *Ibid.*, I.3.12.
17. *Ibid.*, I.13.
18. *Śatapatha-Brāhmana*, A. Weber, varansi, 1964, XIV. 3.35: तामुग्दातृभ्यो ददाति पत्नीकर्मैव वाऽएतेऽत्र कुर्वन्ति यदुद्गातास्तरमात्तामुद्गातृभ्यो ददाति ।
19. A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Benaras, 1938, P. 15.
20. *Kāmasūtra*, 4.1.32.
21. *Rām.*, VII. 17.8: कुशध्वजो नाम पिता ब्रह्मर्षिरमितप्रभः । बृहस्पति सुतः श्रीमान्बुद्ध्या तुल्यो बृहस्पते ।।

22. *Rām., VII. 17.9*: तस्याहं कुर्वतो नित्यं वेदाभ्यासं महात्मनः ।
संभूता वाङ्मयी कन्या नाम्ना वेदवती स्मृता ॥
23. *Rām., VII. 17.12 - 23*: पितस्तु मम जामाता विष्णुः किल सुरेश्वरः ।
पपात च दिवोदिव्या पुष्प वृष्टिः समन्ततः ॥
24. S.C. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, P. 80.
25. *Ibid.*, PP. 117 - 118.
26. *Rām., I.48.11 - 31*: मिथिलोपवने तत्र आश्रमं दृश्य राघवः ।
पुराणं निर्जनं रम्यं पप्रच्छ मुनि पुङ्गवम् ॥
वायुभक्षा निराहारा तप्यन्ती भस्मशायिनी ।
अदृश्या सर्वभूतानामाश्रमेऽस्मिन्निवत्स्यसि ॥
27. *Rām., I.49.18*: पाद्यमर्घ्यं तथाऽऽतिथ्यं चकार सुसमाहिता ।
प्रतिजग्राह काकुत्स्थो विधि दृष्टेन कर्मणा ।
28. S.C. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, pp. 121 - 123.
29. *Brhadāranyaka - Upaniṣad*, trans. by Swami Madhavananda, Almora, 1941, 3.6.1: अथ हैनं गार्गी वाचक्रवीपप्रच्छ; याज्ञवल्क्येति होवाच, यदिदं सर्वपस्वोतं च प्रोतं च, कस्मिन्नु खल्वाप ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; वायौ गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु वायुरोतश्च प्रोतश्चेति; अन्तरिक्षलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खल्वन्तरिक्षलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; गन्धर्वलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु गन्धर्वलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; आदित्यलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खल्वादित्य लोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; चन्द्रलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु चन्द्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; नक्षत्र लोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खले नक्षत्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; देवलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु देवलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; इन्द्रलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खल्विन्द्र लोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; प्रजापति लोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु प्रजापतिलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; ब्रह्मलोकेषु गार्गीति; कस्मिन्नु खलु ब्रह्मलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति; स होवाच, गार्गी मातिप्राक्षीः; मा ते मूर्धा व्यपन्ततु, अनतिसश्यां बै देवतामति प्रच्छसि गार्गी, माति प्राक्षीरिति; ततो ह गार्गी वाक्कव्युपरराम ॥
30. *Brhadāranyaka - Upaniṣad*, IV.5.1: तयोर्ह मैत्रेयी ब्रह्मवादिनी बभूव ।
31. *Ibid.*, II.4: मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः, उद्यास्यन्वा अरेऽहम स्मात्स्थानादास्मि, हन्ति तेऽनया कात्यायन्यान्तं करवाणीति ॥
सा होवाच मैत्रेयी, यन्नु म इयं भयोः सर्वा पृथिवीवित्तेन पूर्णा स्यात्कथं तेनामृता स्यामिति; नेति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः; यथैवोपकरणवतां जीवितं तथैव ते जीवितं स्यात्, अमृतत्वस्य तु नाशास्ति वित्तेनेति ॥
सा होवाच मैत्रेयी, येनाहं नामृतास्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यामि ? यदेन भगवान्देव तदेव मे ब्रूहीति ॥
स होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः, प्रिया वतारे न' सती प्रियं भाषसे, एहि, आस्व, व्याख्या स्यामि ते, व्याचक्षणस्य तु मे विदिध्यासस्वेति ॥
32. *Mahābhārata*, Nilakantha, Pune, 1932, XII.320. 181:
प्रधानोनाम राजर्षित्यं कृं ते श्रोत्रमागतः ।
कुले तस्य समुत्पन्नां सुलभां नामविद्धिमाम् ॥
33. *Ibid.*, XII. 320. 78 - 189: नवभिर्नवभिश्चैव दोषैर्वाङ्बुद्धि दूषणैः ।
अपेतमुपयन्नार्थमष्टादश गुणान्वितम् ।
शौक्ष्म्यं सांख्यक्रमौ चोभौ निर्णयः सप्रयोजनः ।
पञ्चैतान्यर्थं जातानि वाक्य मित्युच्यते नृप ॥

साऽहं मानप्रदानेन वागातिथ्येन चार्चिता ।
सुप्ता सुशरणं प्रीता श्री गमिष्यामि मैथिल ।।

34. *Great Women of India*, pp. 227 - 278; Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithilā, Darbhanga*, 1988, p. 531.
35. *Therīgāthā-Commentary*, Edited by E. Mullar, P.T.S. London, 1893, Verses. 252 - 270.
36. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 148.
37. *Vinaya-pīṭaka*, Edited by Odenberg, P.T.S. London, 1877 - 1883, I.PP.231 - 233; *Dīgha - NIKāya*, Edited by N.K. Bhagawat, Bombay University, vols. I & II, (1942, 1936), II. pp. 95 - 98.
38. *Therīgāthā - commentary*, Verses. 206 - 207.
39. *Ibid.*, 79; *Therīgāthā*, Trans. by Bharata Simha Upadhaya, New Delhi, 1950, Verses. 77 - 81; *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 53-54.
40. *Ibid.*, 124 ff; *Ibid.*, 133 - 138; *Ibid.*, pp. 79 - 80.
41. *Ibid.*, 27 p. 229; *Psalms of the Sister*, p. 135.
42. *Ibid.*, 27 ff; *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24 *Therīgāthā*; Verses 21 - 22.
43. *Apadāna*, Edited by Marry E. lilley, 2 Vols., P.T.S. London, 1925 - 1927, II, P.494.
44. *Āṅguttara - Nikāya*, Edited by R. Morris and E. Hardy, 5 parts, P.T.S. London, 1883 - 1900, I. P. 23.
45. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 348; Yogendra Mishra, *An Early History of Vaiśālī*, Delhi, 1962, p. 162.
46. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, Edited by H.C. Norman, 5 Vols. P.T.S. London, 1906 - 1915, I. p. 339.
47. *Therīgāthā*, Verses 271 - 290; *Therīgāthā-Commentary*, 219 ff.
48. *Therīgāthā-Commentary*, 219 ff.
49. *Ibid.*, P. 76 ff; *Therīgāgāthā*, Verses. 72 - 76.
50. *Ibid.*, P. 5; *Ibid.*, Verse, I.
51. *Śāṅkaradigvijaya* of Śāṅkarācārya, Edited by Vidyardanya, VII. 51:
विधाय भार्या विदुषी सदस्यां विधीयतां वादकथा सुधीन्द्र ।

C. M. AGARWAL DIMENSIONS OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD



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(Vol. III)

Edited by :

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Kumaun University Campus, ALMORA

1993

SHRI ALMORA BOOK DEPOT

ALMORA-263601

U.P. Hills, India

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